

1 question?

2 COMMISSIONER COPPS: I would like to see that
3 that office and that effort as proactive as it
4 could possibly be. I think where you start is you
5 go in and explain what it is you want and see what
6 kind of reaction you get. And if you don't get the
7 kind of reaction that you need then, obviously we
8 want know about that and help. That office is set
9 up, this office for a specific purpose of trying to
10 expand economic opportunity.

11 We've got to make sure that it has the
12 resources that are necessary to do the job, that it
13 has the people that are necessary to do the job,
14 and the people that are committed to it.

15 So, it's an important charge, but it's
16 something that needs to be monitored and watched
17 and I would we tend to that.

18 David, did you want to say something.

19 MR. HONIG: In the past this office has done
20 two things that they are not doing now, but they
21 could do again. One of them is that they formerly
22 had what was called a Minority Buyers List which
23 was a place that anyone that had a station for sale
24 could go to know who among minorities wants to buy
25 and has the ability to buy two or three stations, a

1 predicable size to the markets, what kind and so
2 forth. So that there be one-stops for anyone who
3 not want to discriminate and wanted to reach out
4 very quickly.

5 Another former use of that office was to
6 provide business develop assistance. If you wanted
7 to get into the business, they have experts there
8 who would help you find sources of capital, to
9 write business plans and get introduced to where
10 the money was. These are examples and there are
11 others of what a good consumer-assistance office
12 would do.

13 COMMISSIONER COPPS: But if it has programs to
14 administer, or it have things like tax certificates
15 or other things that, then it can play in really
16 meaningful roles. So that's part of our challenge
17 too, right now.

18 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Sir, where is the office
19 and who heads it up?

20 MR. HONIG: It's part of the Federal
21 Communication Commissions. It's called the Office
22 of Communications Business Opportunities. And it
23 within the Agency at 12th Street. SW. They do have
24 a page on the FCC's website, it's www.fcc.gov.

25 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Oh, this is a Washington

1 Office?

2 MR. HONIG: Yes.

3 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Do you have the phone
4 number?

5 MR. HONIG: No, but it's on the Commission's
6 site also, you put in search for names.

7 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: I don't mean this
8 critically, has it ever done anything?

9 MR. HONIG: When you direct this before the
10 Agency, you want to be nice. Yes.

11 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Okay, all right. That's
12 a good answer.

13 Good, who's next?

14 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: That would be me.

15 My name is Michael Young. I'm with radio
16 station WDTR. And we're in a very unique position
17 in Detroit.

18 First of all, we are owned and operated by the
19 Detroit Public Schools. You know us very well,
20 don't you, Ms. Moore?

21 I have worked at that radio station for about
22 14 years now, and there has not been a year that
23 I've work there has been pressure on the Detroit
24 Public Schools to sale that radio station.

25 Ms. Moore, in answer to one of your questions,

1 the reason to why there's not 14 percent minority
2 ownership is because I assume that they get a plum
3 offer from one of the large corporations. A lot of
4 the minorities sell their radio stations or their
5 television stations to the highest bidder. And
6 that includes cable. BET is no longer a black-
7 owned cable station as well.

8 But my situation is rather unique in that,
9 first of all, we are solely funded by the Detroit
10 Public Schools. We rely on volunteer producers,
11 and we present the programming that you don't get
12 from the mainstream media. We have Ragga Music,
13 we have Jazz, I mean real Jazz. We have music from
14 all over the world on our radio station. We have
15 Latin, we have things that you just can't get
16 anywhere including Electronic Music.

17 And I'm going to do this shameless plug right
18 now. I do the only techno show in Detroit that is
19 on when your kids can hear it.

20 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Have you done any news
21 coverage?

22 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: We have had some limited
23 news coverage and we're getting some more news
24 coverage. As a matter of fact, according to the
25 last poll in the Detroit News, WDTR was named the

1 No. 2 Urban Radio Station in the city of Detroit
2 area.

3 (Applause).

4 Thank you. We work very hard to try to keep
5 that going.

6 We're also one of the few outlets for high
7 school students. We have high school students who
8 are trained. As a matter of fact, Reggie Reg was
9 trained at WDTR.

10 One of the things that, out of the two
11 questions that I have are, what happened to the
12 idea that the airwaves were a public trust? Was
13 that supposed to have been something that is not
14 addressed by the FCC nor the Government?

15 And the other idea is that, at one time there
16 was a discussion of low power radio, and there were
17 thousands of minority business people who were
18 ready and willing to shell out money for a low
19 power broadcast entities, just like Mr. Watkins',
20 to service the community where they weren't being
21 serviced. And you know, I asked that question.

22 And incidentally, I'm going to do another
23 shameless plug. I'll be speaking at the
24 Historical Museum on, Why You Don't Hear Certain
25 Genres of Music Played on Commercial Radio,

1 specifically Electronic Music.

2 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Okay, you're a pretty
3 shameless brother.

4 We got enough questions.

5 Ms. Jackson.

6 MS. JACKSON: I was asked to respond briefly
7 to the idea of what happened to the idea of the
8 airwaves as being a public trust. And I'm happy
9 to, because I think, the way the conversation goes
10 right now, we sort of believe that it's always been
11 this way. It is not always been this way.

12 There was a very hard fought debate in this
13 country over what the purposes of the airwaves,
14 what ends those airwaves would be put to. We had a
15 debate in which a large number of people believed
16 that the airwaves should be primarily educational,
17 that they oughtn't to be about making a profit to
18 begin with, that they ought to be about serving
19 democracy and the public interest.

20 This is a debate that went on throughout the
21 20s and the 30s that, you know, people were engaged
22 in. We didn't wake up one day and find that this
23 was the way things were.

24 So, there's a book in fact, if folks are
25 really interested by Robert McChesney, (ph.) and

1 it's called something like Mass Media in
2 Telecommunications, and a very boring subtitle.
3 But, it's about the history of this fight and when
4 was the moment it was lost, when was the moment.
5 Basically we had a fight of educational verses
6 commercial commitment and the commercial worldview
7 won. But that doesn't mean it has to stay that way
8 always. That doesn't mean it has to always be the
9 way that it is right now. And that's why part of
10 what we're discussing today is not just a math
11 problem, it's a problem about values, it's a
12 question about ideas.

13 And so, I would resay what I said earlier,
14 which is that we don't need to keep translating the
15 value of diversity into something else in order to
16 make it justifiable. It is the value in itself.

17 And again, we're talking about democratic
18 participation. David Honig talked earlier about
19 these companies need 30 to 40 percent profit in
20 five years and you can't own just one station, you
21 have to keep selling and buying more, and more, and
22 more of them.

23 Well, if outgrowing your roots and selling to
24 the highest bidder is what succeeding means in the
25 media industry, then part of what we have to do is

1 to redefine success. So, I think that is going to
2 be actually crucial.

3 I don't want to leave without saying, though,
4 that the FCC always has public comment periods and
5 they're farces, the public doesn't even know
6 they're happening. The reason we know about this
7 Commissioner Michael Copps, the reason that we know
8 about this process, and the reason that we're in
9 Detroit talking about it and the reason the public
10 has had a chance to weigh on it, at all, has been
11 the singular interest that Commissioner Copps and
12 also, Adelstein, have taken in actually turning
13 what is not even being - - this is not polemic this
14 is what's happening. These processes were
15 farcical, they did not involve the public at all.

16 So, however this one comes out, the very fact
17 that we've had more public involvements than ever
18 in this process is going to set us up better for
19 the next fight. It's a long fight.

20 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Thank you.

21 MR. DICOLA: I just wanted to respond to Ms.
22 Janine's question about low power radio, my
23 colleagues, Michael Gracey and Jennifer Tuney
24 (ph.), at the Future Music Coalition, that's how
25 they got into this the spear of working in music

1 and media activism. And the fact is, we lost low
2 power radio, in a lot of ways. That was supposed
3 to be the deal. We were going to trade
4 deregulation and consolidation for low power radio.
5 And then NPR and the National Association of
6 Broadcaster beat us. They won a much - - you know,
7 Chairman Kinnard (ph.) of the FCC worked very hard
8 to try and get those low powered licenses expanded
9 and it just didn't happen. We lost the battle.

10 And Senator McCain, and Senator Figal, and
11 others, there are a few people who have been very
12 sympathetic to this issue, but not enough. And so,
13 what's happened is that the number of stations, the
14 pure number of outlets - - I'm sorry, Janine, this
15 isn't about that. Just for a second - - there are
16 only 13,000 licenses available and that number has
17 been increasing in a much slower rate ever since
18 deregulation. So, in terms of the full power
19 stations, we've got less of them. And then we
20 didn't expand the number of low power licenses.

21 And so, there's just less chance, less
22 opportunity for diversity, less opportunity for
23 more viewpoint. And that's just the facts of the
24 matter.

25 No one knows why. And I asked Commissioner

1 Abelstein why - -

2 MR. GRAY: Let me add one point to that, part
3 of the reason, as you mentioned, the previous
4 Commissioner Kinnard fought very hard to get that
5 implemented. But, we had a change of
6 administration and the new administration shifted
7 the balance of power. And so, the efforts to have
8 that implemented have been slow for businesses.

9 MR. DICOLA: Mr. Gray is absolutely right.
10 That's absolutely right.

11 So, no one can explain why only a hundred new
12 full powered radio stations are licensed every
13 year now, when it used to be two hundred a year, in
14 the mid 80s and the early 90s. Now, in the late
15 90s and early 2000 there's only a hundred a year,
16 only a hundred new licenses. And why that is, and
17 why there aren't more low power licenses, I don't
18 know.

19 And people on the left and the right would
20 support more stations that benefits everyone.

21 MR. GRAY: I see lower power as a future
22 opportunity. The fact that we've got low power FM
23 at all is because of grants through participation
24 in the ruling. It really wouldn't have happened
25 without that. However, the service have been at

1 least temporarily emasculated by the fact that the
2 NAB and others convinced the powerful members of
3 Congress that there might be too much interference
4 for what's called, third adjacent. Those of you
5 who are broadcasters know that means that, somehow
6 if you're operating a little tiny station like
7 95.1, you might somehow be interfering with a
8 station 60 miles away on 95.7. That's third
9 adjacent. Actually broadcasters, professional
10 broadcasters, almost universally realize that level
11 of interference is imperceptible to a human's or
12 dog's ears.

13 But, it's all subjective what these standards
14 are for interference that was used to put a freeze
15 on what would have been mostly for big city low
16 power FM allowance. This is a fight that can still
17 be won however, because what's happened is, it's
18 still being studied by the engineers, they are
19 doing a report. Ultimately, the third adjacent
20 pretense will go away when we get their receiver
21 technology, which we're getting. I think in two to
22 three years that will go away and we'll see an
23 explosion of lower power FM.

24 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: Could I have a quick
25 one question.

1 PROFESSOR ARNOLD: Excuse me, sir.

2 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: This is just in
3 response.

4 If the digital technology is coming from
5 broadcast radio, then you won't have that problem
6 of that third adjacent because the digital signal,
7 digital signals will not interfere.

8 MR. GRAY: They won't interfere as much.

9 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: A lot less. This
10 doesn't completely solve the digital problem, but
11 that about a year away.

12 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: My name is Michael
13 Shumpert (ph.) and I salute Congressman Conyers for
14 convening this wonderful idea.

15 But, for those of us who are against the
16 consolidation, time is running out and the clock is
17 ticking. And I think we should focus on what we
18 can do in the next 10 days to reverse the thinking
19 of the FCC.

20 Commissioner Copps mentioned that there was an
21 entire state that shared that opinion, that
22 consolidation was not a good thing, but he didn't
23 mention the state. I think it might have been
24 helpful if you would disclose the state.

25 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Vermont.

1 COMMISSIONER COPPS: The great State of
2 Vermont.

3 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: So perhaps, there are
4 some ideas within this gathering where we can kind
5 of form a coalition with the great State of
6 Vermont, and others throughout the United States
7 who share our feelings and mobilize and let our
8 opinions and voices be heard.

9 COMMISSIONER COPPS: - - in Philadelphia.

10 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: How can we get the list
11 Commissioner?

12 Who's got a list of all those City Councils
13 and the State?

14 COMMISSIONER COPPS: I can get that.

15 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: We just want the names
16 of all the City Councils, organizations and the
17 State, so that we can contact them right away and
18 began to study and work with them and build on the
19 work they've already started.

20 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: For this to happen on
21 this level, there's only two distinguished ways
22 that a pile of iron could be thrown in front of the
23 train, so to speak. And one, is that a
24 telecommunication's commissions of the city and
25 counties have to be contacted in order to make

1 actions because they set the authority for their
2 districts before the FCC.

3 The other is, you know, I had to say this, and
4 I don't want to be one who throw stones, but I'm
5 just going to speak the truth. We have three
6 powerful media representatives in this room.

7 MS. GILCHRIST: We've done the story.

8 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: Doing this - - no
9 disrespect, but doing the story and when I turn my
10 radio dial I never hear anything about the hearing,
11 I never hear anything about anything from Radio
12 One, from Clear Channel, or anybody for that
13 matter.

14 And you know what, these are the stations that
15 are benefiting greatly in the black community.

16 MS. GILCHRIST: But why would Clear Channel
17 who's advocating that the guidelines move up, they
18 want to relax.

19 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: Well, of course.

20 MS. GILCHRIST: So, the bigger groups want the
21 relaxation. So, why would those radio stations be
22 motivated to do the story?

23 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: Exactly. You make my
24 point exactly without me charging you.

25 It's because they have the interest at making

1 sure they protect their financial interest in
2 keeping the capital from the African American
3 community at large. They control - - listen, FOX,
4 COMCAST, Clear Channel - -

5 MS. GILCHRIST: Right, GE, FOX, ABC, DISNEY,
6 Viacom and - -

7 AUDIENCE PARTICIPANT: No, no, no. I'm going
8 to with it as radio and then go to television.
9 Radio is Clear Channel, Radio One controls the
10 African American market for which both of them are
11 two of the largest Payola companies there is in the
12 country. And that's public information, too.

13 Mr. Chavis-Muhammad represents one of the most
14 powerful, most prolific, young organizations in the
15 United States right now at this time. And if
16 there's anyone that can railroad a boycott to stop
17 this action, it is that organization. Al Sharpton
18 and no one else can do that. That's the
19 organization that can do it.

20 I've been lobby in Washington for the past
21 five weeks. And I'm telling every pocket is
22 padded.

23 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Could I ask brother Earl
24 Jones if he would like to take that comment.

25 MR. JONES: I thought what we would do here

1 was to keep this on a professional basis. And I
2 wouldn't respond to accusations that I can't prove
3 or disprove, and will not try to at this point.

4 That's fine and let's keep it there. But,
5 from my standpoint, I think, from WJLB's
6 standpoint, anything I can do for my community, I
7 do it. I think my record stands for itself.

8 And I'll rest on that.

9 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Well, before you rest on
10 that, Brother Jones, would you explain your
11 corporation's position on this lifting of the caps?

12 MR. JONES: As to my knowledge, my corporation
13 is acquiring stations, they've acquired stations,
14 they have helped others to acquire stations,
15 including Radio One. Not from a standpoint of just
16 selling stations, but also to help finance
17 stations.

18 MR. BURROUGHS: After it has reached it's cap?

19 MR. JONES: I just saying - - I would not be
20 able to comment on that.

21 MR. BURROUGHS: After it has reached - -

22 MR. JONES: I don't know.

23 MR. BURROUGHS: After it has reached it's cap,
24 and they are no longer barred in so many states,
25 the market will reach 35 percent, correct?

1 MR. JONES: Yeah, that's the record. Whatever
2 the record states.

3 MR. : The system of Pay for Play in the
4 music industry, in the broadcast industry has been
5 in place for a number of years.

6 Over the past few years, what large broadcast
7 corporations like Clear Channel and Infinity have
8 attempted to do to eliminate or to reduce the
9 illegal transactions that there has been a great
10 deal of speculation that has occurred over the last
11 few years. And in fact, there has been
12 investigations held during the 70s the 80s and the
13 early 90s. What they've attempted to do is to put
14 a instrument or a system in place where record
15 companies pay for some liberal consideration
16 directly to the corporation.

17 Now, some people in government, Senator Figal,
18 for example, have been somewhat opposed to that and
19 have lobbied that they drop that system in response
20 to the many accusations.

21 I'll be honest with you, in my opinion,
22 because I've been in this business, I've spent,
23 again, the bulk of my career in the broadcast
24 industry, the dismantling or the elimination of
25 that system is really not good. Because what

1 happens, if you eliminate that system, you revert
2 back to the old system that was in place and it's
3 difficult, if not impossible to control it, given
4 the number of radio stations that are licensed
5 across the country. You almost have to have a
6 police officer or someone, a watchdog unit in each
7 and every radio station in America to control it.
8 It's difficult to control a system like.

9 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Mr. Gray, could you tell
10 me what the old system, that was worst than the new
11 system is?

12 MR. GRAY: Well, sir, the old system is the
13 system - - it's a simple system. It's financial
14 transactions that happen between record companies
15 and broadcast people that control the playlist of
16 broadcast stations. That's essentially it. There
17 are financial, meaning dollars transactions; there
18 are monetary, other monetary transactions that
19 transaction. And it has happened. It happens on a
20 daily basis.

21 The system has been in place across all
22 formats.

23 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: The way you describe it,
24 Brother Gray, both systems sound alike.

25 MR. GRAY: Well, the difference - -

1 Congressman Conyers, they are alike. The primary
2 difference between the two is that you take it out
3 of the hands of the program director and the music
4 director and you put it in the hands of the general
5 manager or the station operators. And the
6 financial situations comes to the company. It no
7 longer comes to the individuals who control the
8 playlist a daily or long-term basis.

9 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Is that good?

10 MR. GRAY: It's better. The reason I say it's
11 better is because there's some level of integrity
12 at the general manager level. When you go below
13 that then it's pretty bad.

14 AUDIENCE PARTICIATION: If you'll compare all
15 the sales, at best.

16 MR. JONES: Less than one-fifth of one percent
17 of Clear Channel's income is derived from
18 independent promoters.

19 Clear Channel has a zero tolerance policy
20 about pay for play. All radio program directors,
21 music directors and on-air talent regularly sign
22 sworn affidavits on this issue.

23 The recording industry invented the
24 independent promotions system and independent
25 promoters are on their payroll. If the record

1 companies don't like the system, they can change
2 it.

3 Independent promoters who are under contract
4 with Clear Channel do not pay Clear Channel to get
5 songs played. They receive information only and
6 advance playlist and an audience research.

7 Clear Channel's playlists are based solely on
8 audience preferences.

9 Clear Channel spends millions of dollars each
10 year, and I can vouch for that in my budget, to
11 form extensive audience research to determine what
12 people want to hear and what gets played.

13 The independent promoter system affects only
14 about 250 or 20 percent of Clear Channel's
15 stations. The remaining stations are news talk,
16 oldies and other formats. What this is saying, my
17 position, as Mr. Gray has so eloquently said, is
18 here to make sure there's no Pay to Play. And
19 that's my job. My license depends on it.

20 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: Well, that's great news.
21 That should be the - - I could put out a news
22 release then pointing out that you guys, unlike
23 most of them, aren't dealing in this and that you
24 just read me the rules that make sure that conduct
25 is prohibited.

1 And, boy, will the promoters be happy to find
2 out that they can change this system if they wanted
3 to.

4 MR. HONIG: I look at Payola as an example of
5 what the FCC can do when it put its mind to it to
6 stop this race to the bottom.

7 I'm old enough to remember that back in the
8 1960s and the 1970s the way you got a record played
9 was basically, you would go in, you would sit with
10 the music director or the program director, or
11 announcer, bring in some cash in an envelop, bring
12 some weed, have a date with some lady and that
13 would get your record played and no one had to
14 know. It was all on the - -

15 AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION: - - down low.

16 MR. HONIG: The FCC cleaned that up in the
17 1980s.

18 And I can tell you categorically, we have not
19 received, since 1990, any complaint of illegal or
20 unethical behavior by way of Payola. It's over.
21 That's an achievement.

22 MR. GRAY: Hold on. What has happened, David,
23 and I don't want to disrespect your opinion, but
24 what has happened is that some of these people have
25 become smarter in dealing with the system.

1 It hasn't gone away. The system is in place.
2 And again, as Mr. Jones mentioned a few minutes
3 ago, the people who have the ability to control it
4 are the record companies, if they stop funneling
5 millions and millions of dollars into the system to
6 the affect the charts on an annual basis, it all
7 goes away.

8 But the reason that you haven't had a major
9 Payola investigation in the last few years is that
10 the people have just gotten a little bit smarter.
11 Whereas, they don't walk in with cash any longer,
12 now sometimes they use American Express gift
13 certificates. Sometimes the transactions are
14 transported using Federal Express overnight
15 packages, but they just got smarter.

16 And I can show you homes in America, million
17 dollar homes that were built by record companies.
18 That's - - you know, it's a smarter way of using
19 the system, but the system is still in place.

20 (Applause).

21 MR. HONIG: I'll stand corrected, then. I did
22 not know that. We all learned something today and
23 it's a disappointing surprise to hear that this is
24 true.

25 And anyone that would like to fill me in more

1 on this, I did not know and would like to learn,
2 please tell me later.

3 But there's one other point the gentleman made
4 that I think he's right. First, the breach of the
5 usual, so-called, Church and State, between
6 publishers and editors in the media, such that the
7 editorial side is supposed to be separate from the
8 journalism side. The interest of the publisher, in
9 this case, the broadcaster, are supposed to be
10 ignored by the news department.

11 Apparently, given the enormous value of this
12 proceeding as a news event, that has been breached
13 horribly. And that is really not a good commentary
14 in the state of American journalism.

15 The gentleman is also correct in saying that
16 there is something that we can do. But it's
17 important to pick the right tactic. A boycott
18 works well if it's against a gas station, a food
19 store, but it does not work against media. Because
20 as soon as you tell people don't watch this, that's
21 the best way to get them to watch it.

22 Cigarette companies know this very well.
23 Kids, cigarette smoking is for grown-ups. They
24 know what they're doing. That's a way to get kids
25 to smoke. That's why a boycott almost never can

1 work against intellectual property, against media,
2 because it defies the nature of human curiosity.
3 There is a tactic that can't work. Let's plan
4 ahead.

5 CONGRESSMAN CONYERS: To Dr. Chavis.

6 MR. CHAVIS: Well, let me just rain on this
7 just a little bit. You know, we need radio control
8 because if we act off of information that may have
9 some truth mixed with falsehood. You know, it's
10 hard to distinguish between what is false and what
11 is true.

12 Now, from the Hip-Hop Summit Action Network, I
13 appreciate what a brother says, we do represent
14 millions of young people. But how do we reach
15 them? It's not because we are paying our money to
16 young people in the inner city.

17 What record companies are doing now, I can't
18 speak about what they did in the past, but now - -
19 well, let me see. I can talk about what Def Jam
20 Records is doing now.

21 They're not paying programmers to play Def Jam
22 music. What we're spending money on now is, let's
23 put our ear closer to the inner city to determine
24 what is heart. And then there's some betting going
25 on between these records whose going to sign up the

1 new hot artist?

2 So, there's more being put into artist
3 development. People knew that Fifty Cents was
4 going to be a hit for several years, before anybody
5 knew who Fifty Cents' name was, because he was
6 being mentored. And it's interesting that he
7 signed with Eminem's label.

8 If anybody thinks that somebody outside of
9 Detroit made Eminem who Eminem is, you don't have
10 your ear close to the ground. And the reason why
11 he can fill up a stadium, sell out Ford Stadium in
12 a half hour, is because the reality of what a lot
13 of these young urban artist speak about is reality
14 that a lot of young people feel. You not only hear
15 it, but you have to feel it.

16 And what determines a hit song now, is not so
17 much a decision that a programmer makes or a DJ
18 makes, that decision is made in the street by the
19 how the song feels, not just how you list it. I
20 don't know if you understand what I'm saying.

21 We do have an interest in this because radio
22 impacts the - - and television impacts all media.
23 I think it's unfair just to focus on radio as if
24 it's an isolated phenomenon. We're talking about
25 communications. We're talking about mass media.